

Volume C No. 1

March 8, 1974

50 cents

commonweal



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IN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS
**'THE FUTURE OF THE
CATHOLIC PEACE
MOVEMENT**

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NEWS & VIEWS

The Berrigan Debate

In an editorial entitled "Daniel Berrigan's Outraged Love," editor Jim Forest of *Fellowship* magazine gathers some pieces from the controversy over Berrigan's Oct. 19 talk on the Middle East war, and speaks a word of understanding for an old friend held in prophetic esteem.

Picking up Forest's editorial at mid-point (after opening comments that "the bulk" of Berrigan's remarks went "unquoted and ignored"):

"The talk was flawed. While its widest audience has been its readers, one regrets that a talk so heavy with criticisms of Israel was first heard by a group so well-disposed to such criticism. (Interestingly, one of those in the first audience walked out, saying loud enough for others to hear, 'Oh - - - , he's a pacifist.')

The imagery and analogies become too absolute, too damning. The portrayal of Jewish leadership's capitulation to Nixon is too sweeping. The equation of Jew with outsider and resister, whereby Dan sees himself as a Jew of sorts, is revelatory of his own vocation within the Christian tradition, but hardly establishes a foothold for communication with Jews.

"It is apparent that Dan realized this himself, after the fact. In the televised conversation with Hans Morgenthau, he was asked: 'If you had to make that speech again, would you make it the way you have made it? Or have you learned something from the experience?'

"Well," he responded, 'I've learned a great deal, not merely about myself, but about the community, and specifically the American Jewish community, and that has made me . . . very sober about the whole question . . . I would think of nothing essential that I would want

to retract. I would want to add something which I think we've gotten into very briefly. I don't think I conveyed my sense of love for Israel and for the Jewish people, which is very deep in me. I said at one point that this was an act of love, but it was outraged love. But I should have developed that more. And as you brought up earlier, I think I should have spoken more about my admiration for the social achievements and the agricultural and industrial achievements of Israel, especially in those early years when it was so difficult . . .'" Forest goes on:

"A large part of the problem, ironically, is in Dan Berrigan's long-standing awe of the prophets of Israel and their literary tradition. He has written and spoken of those prophets repeatedly through all the thirteen years I have known him, and doubtless it was a major strand in the affinities that built such a friendship between himself and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, a long friendship that had finally led the two of them into a joint book project that was interrupted by the great teacher's death. (One recalls their friendship was no less intense for their differing views on the situation in Israel and the Middle East.)

"Rabbi Heschel wrote of the prophetic communications problem himself, in the opening essay to his classic work, *The Prophets*.

"The world," he said, 'is a proud place, full of beauty, but the prophets are scandalized, and rave as if the whole world were a slum. They make much ado about paltry things, lavishing excessive language upon trifling subjects. What if somewhere in ancient Palestine poor people have not been treated properly by the rich? So what if some old women found pleasure and edification in worshipping 'the Queen of Heaven'? Why such immoderate excitement? Why such intense indignation? . . .

"To us a single act of in-

justice—cheating in business, exploitation of the poor—is slight; to the prophets a disaster. To us injustice is injurious to the welfare of the people; to the prophets it is a deathblow to existence; to us, an episode; to them a catastrophe, a threat to the world . . .

"The prophet is a man who feels fiercely. God has thrust a burden upon his soul, and he is bowed and stunned before man's fierce greed. Frightful is the agony of man; no human voice can convey its full terror. Prophecy is the voice that God has lent to silent agony, a voice to the plundered poor, to the profaned riches of the world . . .

"The prophet is intent on intensifying responsibility, is impatient with excuse, contemptuous of pretense and self-pity. His tone, rarely sweet or caressing . . . his words . . . often slashing, even horrid, designed to shock rather than edify . . .

"The prophet's use of emotional and imaginative language, concrete in diction, rhythmical in movement, artistic in form, marks his style as poetic. Yet it is not the sort of poetry that takes its origin, to use Wordsworth's phrase, 'from emotion recollected in tranquility.' Far from reflecting a state of inner harmony or poise, its style is charged with agitation, anguish, and a spirit of nonacceptance. The prophet's concern is not with nature but with history, and history is devoid of poise. . . ."

Aiming at 'Silos'

U.S. development of an efficient "silo-killing" nuclear force is defended in many quarters for having the benefit at least of swinging target sights away from cities with heavy population clusters to specifically military bases. Nevertheless, this possible change in U.S. nuclear capability draws strong criticism from *Arms Control Today*, monthly journal of the Arms Control Association.

The shift is regarded, first, as a reneging on one's political word, since "in the past President Nixon and other top officials have frequently assured Congress and the American public that the U.S. would neither develop a counterforce capability nor any weapons 'which the Soviets could construe as having a first-strike potential'."

Secondly, it is regarded as dangerous, since the acquisition of counterstrike capabilities "would increase the likelihood of nuclear war and the potential for crisis instability."

Arms Control Today explains:

"The likelihood of nuclear war will be increased since a counterforce doctrine and related capabilities will make nuclear weapons seem more 'usable' in addition to making their attractiveness as a viable policy option superficially greater. Crisis stability will be decreased since with hard target counterforce capabilities and vulnerable land based forces each side will perceive in a crisis situation the incentive of even a limited first-strike upon its adversary's missile force. The attractiveness of counterforce targets in a second-strike attack could never equal those of a first-strike attack. Consequently, an incentive will exist for the side which seizes the initiative to strike first . . ."

Arms Control Today urges the spurning of more efficient "silo-killing" weapons in favor of negotiation of mutual limitations on MIRV flight testing and deployment as a preface to the eventual reduction of land-based missiles on both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Odds and Ends

— Exploitation-of-the-Wee Award to Continental Airlines for its new stewardesses focused ad slogan: "We Really Move Our Tail For You" (Continental won over National Airline's "Fly Me, I Cheryll.")

JOHN DEE

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CORRESPONDENCE



Pax Vobiscum

Niles, Ill.

To the Editors: Kindly spare us your fashionably irreverent editorial ignorance ["Working for Peace," Jan. 25]. Even *Commonweal's* memory should be long enough to recall that the recent reform of the liturgical calendar aimed at consolidation whenever possible. So the Feast of Mary, Mother of God, formerly observed on Oct. 11 (which commemorated the vindication at Ephesus of the title of *Theotokos* and which was extended to the Universal Church by Pius XI on the fifteenth centenary of that Council) has been—commendably—joined to the celebration of the Octave Day of Christmas where the prayers (Collect, Postcommunion) centered precisely on this Marian prerogative.

You may now consider yourselves no longer "hard-pressed to explain the exact meaning of the Solemnity of Mary." Let me be the first to admit that this is nitpicking in light of the main point and admirable purpose of your editorial. But, then, you brought it up first.

(REV.) JEROME C. ESPER, C.S.C.

Humble, Texas

To the Editors: Here are a few random thoughts on your editorial on "Working for Peace" [Jan. 25] and the liturgy of New Year's Day.

I miss the old celebration of the Circumcision. There was something very earthy and Jewish about it all? Were we afraid that junior might ask what "circumcision" means on the way home from Mass?

The Feast of the Solemnity of Mary seems very contrived and very distant from the reality of the day and the season. I welcomed the option of celebrating a day of prayer for World Peace.

As a local pastor I would never inflict on my congregation the type of sermon your editorial suggests. People

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COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.

Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Printed in the USA and published weekly,

except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
 by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
 Murray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1974 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.

US and Canada: \$14 a year. Foreign \$16. Single copies 50c

REPUBLICAN PROSPECTS

A few Republicans still whistle on their way to the cemetery, but most know that the GOP is in very big trouble indeed—a fact dramatically illustrated by the election of a Democrat to fill Vice President Ford's Congressional seat, the first time a Democrat has been elected in that district since 1910. As things stand now, many party leaders fear the GOP is headed for a debacle in 1974 and also in the Presidential race in 1976. It is with this foreboding in mind that many Republicans are racking their brains in an effort to find some medicine that will cure the party of the Watergate blight.

One obvious move is to try to dissociate the Republican party from Watergate entirely. Various party leaders have taken to following this tack, most recently and explicitly Senator Charles H. Percy of Illinois, himself a Presidential hopeful. Said Senator Percy to his fellow-Republicans: "We must not put ourselves in the position of even seeming to condone or gloss over the misdeeds of Watergate. In no way, shape or form is Watergate what the Republican party is all about, and we'd better make damn sure the American people understand it, or our party will be paying for that 'third-rate burglary' for decades to come."

Senator Percy represents the liberal wing of the party, but spokesmen for the conservative faction are almost as explicit. Senator Barry Goldwater's acid comments have been well publicized, but consider also this quote in the *N.Y. Times* from former Governor of Texas John B. Connally: "I know the President's popularity is down—the polls show it and I hear it everywhere—but let's be practical about it. He's not going to be on the ballot again." In other words, as more and more Republican strategists see it, Mr. Nixon is a stone around any candidate's neck, and individual office-seekers would be wise to put as much distance as possible between them and the star of Watergate. Such a tactic is all very fine, and at this point probably the only tack that has a chance at success, but it still remains a gamble. Will it work or won't it? To help ensure that dissociation does have a real chance at succeeding, Senator Percy in his remarks went on to prescribe a new GOP response to Watergate. Included in his prescription were the following: support by the party for reforms in campaign financing

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and financial disclosures by officeholders; stress on an official commitment to the rule of law for all offenses, from mugging to Watergating; disowning the use of "national security" as a cloak for illegal activities; opposition to "big brother intervention in our daily lives" by wiretapping and secret surveillance; an end to the kind of duplicity and secrecy in government that mired us in Vietnam and Watergate. In short, a realistic facing up to the sins that led to the present GOP plight.

Taken all together, Senator Percy's recommendations will be seen by many Republicans as plain horse sense. Even before the election to fill Mr. Ford's seat, there were a growing number of Republican officeholders who had decided not to seek reelection next time around—a good indication of their conviction that popular resentment directed at the President extends to other members of his political party. But what if the party manages to clear its skirts of the dirt of Watergate and create some distance between itself and the President? This will take some doing, of course, but if the GOP succeeds in this, by following the lead of men like Senator Percy,

its prospects in 1976 may not be as bad as they at first appear.

Just suppose, for example, that Senator Kennedy does not run in 1976 and that presently front-running Senator Henry Jackson wins the Democratic nomination. Suppose too that GOP leaders have sense enough not to get locked in with Vice President Ford as their pre-ordained candidate. Given Senator Jackson's stance on Vietnam, defense spending, the SST and various other crucial issues, what would be the reaction of independent and liberal voters to his candidacy? If the GOP candidate were Rockefeller or Reagan, the result might be a stay-at-home standoff. If the Republican man were Senator Percy or someone like him, many such voters might even find him preferable to Senator Jackson and cast a Republican vote, Watergate or no. Much depends on what the Democrats do, therefore, as well as on Republican efforts to cleanse their own house. Certainly, however, it is too early to write off GOP chances for 1976 entirely. While they still have a chance of shedding the Nixon-Watergate image, the Republicans are down but not out.



FROM ROME

THE VATICAN AND ISRAEL

On Monday, Jan. 14, while Henry Kissinger was commuting between Cairo and Tel Aviv, the Vatican made its own modest move in the Middle Eastern game. Federico Alessandrini, head of the Vatican press office, told journalists that the Pope no longer objected to the construction of a mosque in Rome (provided, of course, that "as for the location and outward dimensions, due regard would be paid to the special character of Rome as center of the Catholic Church"). Until then, the Vatican had always opposed any such plans on the strength of the Concordat, which obliges the Italian government to ban anything detrimental to the sacred character of the city (on the same ground the police once forbade the Roman performances of Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*). The little present had probably been intended for the Egyptian foreign minister Ismail Fahmi, who was supposed to visit Rome early this year, but Kissinger's rapid progress made it advisable to anticipate the announcement, as a signal of the Vatican's continued friendly feelings towards the Arabs and of its interest in another Holy City: Jerusalem.

One month earlier, on Dec. 22, Jerusalem had been the topic of an unprecedented meeting in the papal palace, where Paul VI received Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President Gaafar Numeiri of Sudan, Vice President James Green of Liberia and Foreign Minister

Vernon Mawanga of Zambia. To his unusual visitors the Pope explained his project for the future of Jerusalem which consisted in the internationalization of the city and its administration by a mixed religious commission, chaired by a representative of the Catholic Church. The scope of the meeting (which appears to have been suggested by King Faisal and President Bourghiba) was to invite the African countries to sponsor the plan in the U.N.

The internationalization of Jerusalem had been a constant goal of Vatican diplomacy since the declining years of the Ottoman Empire, but especially since the rise of Zionism had made it likely that one day the city might fall into the hands of the Jews. At one time, between the two World Wars, the project had been close to succeeding, but the idea of setting up an international control board had to be abandoned, when the Vatican rejected the British condition of a Protestant chairman. After 1947 it became increasingly unrealistic, as it was clear that internationalization would not satisfy the aspirations of either Israel or the Arabs. Nevertheless it was forcefully upheld by Pius XII, who dedicated two encyclicals to the subject, and by the majority of Palestinian Catholics, led by the Franciscan Custodian Alberto Gori, unwaveringly hostile to the Zionist claims. But after the annexation of the Old City by Jordan, Gori

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(who meanwhile had become Patriarch of Jerusalem) soon established a friendly *modus vivendi* and for the time being the subject of internationalization was quietly dropped.

The situation changed again radically in 1967, when the whole of Jerusalem was occupied by Israeli forces. The old project, which had been dormant for almost two decades, was at once revived by Pope Paul, who, even before the ceasefire, demanded the internationalization of the city. This hasty intervention, at a moment when the government had already announced its intention to respect the rights of Christians and Moslems to their holy places, was deeply resented in Israel and was met by a firm refusal of the government. In the following years the Pope referred to the problem in more cautious terms, notably in his message to the Islamic conference of Rabat (1969), when his careful avoidance of the word "internationalization" was taken by many to indicate a change of tactics, if not of policy. During the same period, however, the *Osservatore Romano* continued to insist on the necessity of internationalizing Jerusalem and published periodic attacks on the Israeli authorities for the "Judaization" of the city.

On Jan. 15, 1973, Golda Meir visited the Pope—a remarkable event, for the Vatican had never recognized the State of Israel, and no head of the Israeli government had ever been received by the Pope. Mrs. Meir herself spoke rightly of a "historical occasion," but she was immediately contradicted by Alessandrini, who minimized its importance in what was easily the rudest statement ever released after an audience. He pointed out that the Prime Minister had not been invited, that the Holy See had cordial relations with all Arab countries, and particularly insisted on "the native and inalienable rights of the three monotheistic religions" concerning

Jerusalem. Mrs. Meir reacted with utmost courtesy ("I certainly did not invade the Vatican," she said mildly), but the press and public opinion in Israel felt bitterly offended. Nobody had forgotten how easily the Church had adapted to the Jordanian occupation of the holy places, and it was also a well known fact that it had never protested against the prohibition for Jews (one of "the three monotheistic religions" the Vatican had so much at heart) to visit the Western Wall of the Temple, nor against the looting of their synagogues and cemeteries. Not unnaturally, Rome was accused of anti-Semitism, and the whole long story of old and recent griefs against the Church was retold.

The diplomatic activity of the Vatican after the Yom Kippur War shows that its aims are still unchanged; and if the Arabs may now prefer internationalization to the Israeli administration, there is no reason to suppose that to Israel the Pope's intervention is any more acceptable than before. Msgr. Pio Laghi, the Apostolic Delegate in Jerusalem, has certainly had the most unpleasant job of his life, when on Jan. 2 he carried out the instruction to explain the Vatican position to the Israeli government. A few years ago, in an article on Jerusalem and the Holy Places, Prof. François Delpech wrote: "The role of the Church is not to defend rights, but to live the Word of God and to witness to it. It is quite normal that she should desire basic freedom. But she must remain poor. She must not aim at power. She must not cause scandal to the whole world." At a time when others are making the first serious efforts towards peace in the Middle East, the danger of scandal is greater than ever.

HENRY TEN KORTENAAR

(Henry ten Kortenaar is *Commonweal's* regular correspondent in Rome.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

THE REALITY OF THE BUDGET

The federal budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1 is now before the Congress—all 1071 pages of it—and disputes over its orientation and apportionments are reminiscent of the saw about the two housewives arguing over the back fence—they disagree because they're arguing from different premises.

The obvious premise underlying the budget—be it that drafted by a Democratic or a Republican administration—is that it is not only an economic but a political document. It is shot through with ambitions, tendencies, prejudices, private-sector pressures, campaign commitments and post-election compromises. More antiseptically stated, the federal budget is "both a statement of our

national objectives and a plan for achieving them," as the opening sentence of the budget summary states. It is, of course, both more and less than that.

Revenues to keep the budget afloat, it should be noted, still come from you and me. Fiscal year 1975 estimates are that individual income taxes will account for 42 percent of revenues for that year; second largest source is from corporation income taxes, 16 percent. And, as to where it goes, 29 percent will be spent for activities labeled "national defense."

One other fact to keep in mind is that, even with the most sincere of intentions, the federal budget may be, often is, statistically misleading. For example, head-

lines inform newspaper readers that the budget contains total outlays of \$304.4 billion during fiscal 1975, or nearly \$30 billion more than that recommended for the current fiscal year (1974). However, one is obliged to be persistent and read further into the budget text itself to discover that permanent authorizations comprise about 40 percent of the recommended expenditures for the next fiscal year. Examples of these are monies already committed to be spent by past Congressional actions, such as that for road-construction projects financed by the interstate highway trust fund, social security payments and payments to disabled veterans. Only the remaining 60 percent of the proposed budget, an estimated \$197.7 billion, is subject to actions during this session of the 93rd Congress.

Notice, too, that the aggregate budget of \$304.4 billion is described in the budget explanation as an "outlay." In the arcane terminology of federal budgeteers, the word "outlay" has a specific connotation—the number of dollars the Nixon Administration states it intends to spend. Newspaper stories about budgets often refer to an "authorization," which is the legal ceiling beyond which a particular department, agency, or branch may not spend.

After the budget proposals were released, representatives of the various departments held individual briefings at which they were to describe in detail their respective budgets. The business about "outlays" and "authorizations" led to this exchange between an official of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and reporters:

Reporter, inquiring about the health budget: "What shall I do with this (specific) outlay figure?"

HEW briefing officer: "Ignore it."

Second Reporter: "Last week (HEW) Secretary Weinberger testified that the NIH (National Institutes of Health) budget would show an increase of 8 percent and he was basing that on outlay figures. Isn't that the figure you just told us to ignore?"

HEW briefing officer: "Yes."

Alice would have enjoyed that press briefing as well as her tea party.

There are other understandable confusions not always made clear in accounts of who is spending how much for what. The Congress could *authorize* an expenditure of \$100-million for neighborhood legal services in fiscal '75; it could then, subsequently, under existing Congressional procedure, *appropriate* only \$80 million for neighborhood legal services; and the President could decide to *spend* only \$50 million in fiscal '75 and not spend (that is, "impound") the remainder. As a matter of fact the total of impounded funds now aggregates more than \$11 billion, a result of actions by Democratic and Republican Administrations, but mostly during the Nixon years.

The budgeteers themselves often get lost amid the

forest of terms. The committees of the Congress have denied themselves an effective, independent system of budget analysis. Often, a committee will seek to verify a budget item by sending it back to the originating Executive Branch agency! Much earlier in our history, the Congress played a dominant role in budget-making, although not always efficiently or coherently. Until relatively recently, committee chairmen would send back legislation sent to the Congress by officials of the Executive Branch with the curt reminder that the Congress is assigned the responsibility of devising legislation. Today, committee chairmen have been known to complain publicly that their committees can't legislate because the President hasn't sent them any legislation!

Unlike previous fiscal years, the Nixon Administration, under siege for a variety of extra-legal transgressions, is noticeably unanxious to fight with the Congress. "Flexibility" is the slogan, as the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Frederic Malek, emphasized at one briefing in early February. In previous years, particularly last year, the Nixon Administration fought beyond tolerable limits to dissolve or budgetarily starve a number of programs they were hostile to—the dismantlement of OEO, the anti-poverty agency, being one. This year, overall, the tone differs. As the United States Conference of Mayors and the National League of Cities phrased it in their analysis of the fiscal '75 budget: "If the budget shows the Administration's direction remains essentially unchanged, its tone is strikingly different. Last year it was 'take it or leave it.' This year the mood is one of conciliation and compromise . . . Gone now is the harsh budget language of a year ago that was peppered with the unsupported judgments that such urgently needed city programs as urban renewal were 'not working,' and the stern notice that the Congress must accept a budget ceiling."

The thrust of the proposed budget is described as one to blunt a severe recession that some foresee already on the basis of rising unemployment; now more than 5 percent of the labor force, which indicates the non-white rate is at least 10 percent of those seeking jobs. The effectiveness of the Administration's actions in the face of rising prices of energy fuels and accompanying economic disruptions seems less reassuring, however. Some Administration officials seem to be saying, in effect, that the so-called "energy crisis" has passed, because the nation has entered a period of prolonged restriction of supply of energy and accompanying high prices; this having become the norm, *ergo*, there is by definition no crisis but a constant state of affairs of high-prices and shortages. This is a bit like telling someone he is no longer sick, because he has become permanently stricken and that now this is his natural way-of-life.

There are sectors of the budget that deserve mention, if not notoriety. The President is asking Congress to approve a military budget of \$92.6 billion, the largest

peace-time budget in our history and higher, even, than any of the Defense Department budgets during the Vietnam war. Our troops are not committed to combat in Indochina; there has been an agreement reached on strategic arms (SALT-I); and military planners are now planning not, as in the past, for a capacity to wage simultaneously "two and one-half" wars, but only "one and one-half." Yet the budget rises. As the Mayors' Conference and the League of Cities point out, "contrary to the Administration's budget presentation, the actual increase in basic, routine military appropriations comes to \$13.7 billion (16.4 percent)." Whatever happened to that "peace dividend" talked about as a result of closing the store in Vietnam?

Another increase, in keeping with the times, is a near-doubling of funds for energy research and development (R&D), most of it to increase existing programs and mostly concentrated in the nuclear-fission area.

The Nixon Administration has also sought to position itself in the health sector to offset an election-year drive for a national health insurance plan put forward by Senator Kennedy. Although press reports describe the affair as one of Kennedy vs. Nixon, there are indications it is something other than that. The Kennedy bill may not be an idea whose time has come—not so much for cost as the plan's reliance upon a larger role for government in policing the medical sector. There is some reason to believe that Senator Kennedy is working with Rep. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, to which such health plans in the House are referred, in an effort to devise a Kennedy-Mills bill. The Nixon plan helps in terms of catastrophic health insurance, with a basic reliance upon the existing private-insurance industry to provide the goods and services—an industry that Senator Kennedy says is already enjoying "windfall" profits of approximately \$7-billion a year without providing satisfactory, comprehensive coverage for Americans regardless of incomes.

There is at least one replay of last year's efforts at curtailment. HEW Secretary Weinberger has not given up his efforts to terminate numerous programs of assistance to individuals and institutions, programs that enjoy support within the health field: the long-standing Hill-Burton hospital construction program, community mental-health centers, regional medical program, and training grants for researchers.

The "good news-bad news" character of the Nixon Administration also pertains to urban affairs. Most mayors welcome the insistence on further development of community blockgrants of federal monies rather than the existence of a variety of individually funded programs. The Nixon Administration, however, worries some municipal officials because of its declared intention to rely almost exclusively on an operational block-grant program by July 1. Difficulties in transition, combined with what they regard as insufficient financing, will im-

pede local improvement programs, according to one East Coast mayor. Because the budget is inadequate to respond to aggravated adult unemployment, it may be a "long, hot summer," to resurrect a phrase of the late Sixties, in the inner cities, where at best joblessness is normally high. The Nixon budget may well be increased measurably as a result; in fact, it probably will be, according to Congressional funding committee staff members.

Mayors passing through Washington these days in quest of more funds deserve some sort of award. Unlike members of Congress, they cannot buck problems to another layer of government. They're right there at home on public view. A good many of them are quite competent. As visitors they pose cheerfully with their Senators and Representatives; in their testimony they use the correct exhortatory prose before committees on urban affairs. Off-stage they're discouraged, but stoutly stick to their last. There's less talk of a rebirth of cities than simply talk of holding-the-line.

"I'm tired of all this glamorous urban renewal vista talk spun by over-educated supposedly 'best and brightest' urbanologists or whatever the hell they call themselves," said one visiting mayor recently. "I just want to help my town survive—keep the taxes down, keep the factories going, add a few more new buses, and let the old folks walk the streets in peace. I want the 'Feds' to help me."

The mayor continued: "I once read about someone saying that an ideal community is one of a size in which a person can still recognize the faces of his neighbors. Why, I can't even recognize the faces of the people who work for me on my floor at City Hall, there're so many of 'em."

SISYPHUS

COMING

GABRIEL KOLKO writes of a recent visit to South Vietnam:

"The dynamism and spirit of the people of Quang Tri, whether peasants or leaders, as well as their keen sense of organization and their accomplishments to date, quickly justifies their total confidence that they can and will master the problems of reconstruction. Everywhere I met children who had lost one or both parents, but were now in school and cared for; men and women, often the large majority of their village, who had been bombed, tortured, imprisoned, and tormented in so many ways, but who are now restoring their homes, measurably improving their own welfare, and fiercely proud of all they had mastered—as well as what they would yet do if renewed war demanded."

'COMING OUT' FOR TOMMASO

MICHAEL NOVAK

Tommaso d'Aquino died seven hundred years ago, in 1274. For seven hundred years, somber voices have announced the death of the intellectual movement he began. And yet his fundamental concerns continue their quiet influence, as though springing naturally, regularly, from the fecund sources of human intelligence itself.

The trend of ecological thinking today is closer to the thought world of Tommaso than to those all-mastering ways of thinking that marked the beginnings of the modern age. "Knowledge is power," wrote Francis Bacon; but knowledge is also participation, reverence and restraint. The natural world is an organic whole, not infinitely manipulatable; it has its limits, its confines, its capacities, its "natural order."

We can intervene in the natural order far more than Aquinas in the thirteenth century dreamed; we have also come to the end of the unthinkable, inconsequential "progress." We deal once again with fundamental questions of the limits of "spaceship earth," with the universal limits of human nature.

In ethics, four Aquinian themes have reemerged under new sponsorship. First, the importance of intentionality—that fundamental, underlying drive in human inquiry and action. Stuart Hampshire, perhaps the most powerful ethicist in the English-speaking world, is unabashedly indebted to the tradition in which Tommaso worked—the tradition of the Nichomachean Ethics. (Traditions, too, have their intentionality, their stubborn progress, their momentum.)

Second, the perception that actions are not atomic, but flow from dispositions, from "virtues," from "established patterns." James Gustafson has transposed a great many insights

(even concepts) from the thought of Aquinas into contemporary ethical discourse. Protestant thinkers in America seem to be far more influenced by Tommaso today than at any time in several generations.

Third, the need to understand human intelligence in an incarnational, embodied, passionate way; the need not to allow the sharp distinction between the emotive and the cognitive reinforced by Hume in Anglo-Saxon, and Kant in German thought. The insights of Tommaso into the embodiment of intelligence in the body's senses, in the passions, in the instincts of the heart, and in the purity (or predilections) of the will are—in many contemporary locations—becoming commonplace. His approach to *phronesis* as "the giving of reasons" is now more plausible than ever.

Fourth, the modern experience of alienation, which has by contrast made usable once again Tommaso's understanding of "being" — that healthy tendency in organisms to be "in tune" with themselves, to be "true" to others, to be "at one" with their worlds. For two generations, American discourse disdained "being" and praised "doing"; today, many speak comfortably again of "being"—and of contemplation, meditation, at-one-ment.

Long ago, in college years, I decided that the best way to remain "relevant" throughout a long and varied lifetime would be to steep myself in the thought of Tommaso. I chose him not simply because he was accessible at Stonehill College, but because his thought seemed—far more than that of Hume, or Kant, or Sartre, or Spinoza—to be so non-ideological, so ample, so centered, so intent upon holding together the centrifugal tendencies of human experience. Whichever way events

moved, he offered a firm base for exodus and return—the fundamental rhythm of the *Summa Theologica*.

Thus today many of empirical temper are made uneasy by the resurgent language of being, mystery, mysticism; and many who take the mystical ways are contemptuous of clear distinctions, form arguments and the presentation of evidence. Tommaso recognized and legitimated both tendencies of the human spirit, and insisted that they be made part of the internal conversation of every person.

Similarly, his ethic is at once an ethic of being and of doing; the two are to be differentiated and united in personal experience. His ethic is an ethic of charity but also of practical wisdom—intelligent but not rationalistic; subject to critical argument and yet not entirely reducible to words; wholly dependent upon grace and yet recognizing the fleshiness of the flesh and the humble demands of common sense (for him, these are also graced).

No thinker has forged a more true-to-life unity between subjectivity and objectivity, between story and reason, between revelation and sense.

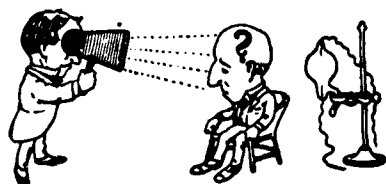
I decided not to use Thomistic words in my writing, not to be a Thomist in the way Maritain was, carrying Latin distinctions into modern contexts. My classroom notebooks are full of marginal notations on how to translate Tommaso's language into contemporary idiom.

To no other thinker, ancient or contemporary, do I feel so much in debt; no other do I hold in such honor or affection. I have not wanted to be "a Thomist," or to hold any position whatever except those that I had made part of myself, in my own language, because they answered to my own experience. But on the seven

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PENTAGON SPIES AT THE WHITE HOUSE

PETER J. OGNIBENE



Another case of a disease endemic to Washington: bureaucratic infighting

In the summer of 1971, when Daniel Ellsberg's contribution to the libraries of America was front-page news, I heard a three-star general snarl about "those purloined Pentagon papers." His was a typical reaction among high-ranking military officers even if his alliterative phrasing was stolen straight out of Spiro Agnew's speech file. Now, it turns out, the Pentagon itself was "purloining" official White House documents at the same time generals were denouncing Ellsberg. The extent of the operation is now being investigated by the Senate Armed Services Committee behind closed doors, but what has come out so far is sufficient to warrant some observations and conclusions.

Although it may not have seemed possible to a civilian in 1971, when the Pentagon was getting a larger-than-ever slice of the budget, the military was very much concerned by what it perceived as a loss of influence in Richard Nixon's White House. Dr. Henry Kissinger was one of the very few persons who had regular access to the Oval Office, and he skillfully used his close working relationship with the President and his National Security Council machinery to dominate the formulation of America's foreign and military policy. Just as Secretary of State William Rogers was reduced to an overseer of embassies, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird was relegated to the role of chief military lobbyist on Capitol Hill. The Joint Chiefs of Staff had little to do but shuffle papers to one another. Policy was being made with little military input.

By statute, the National Security Council membership includes the President, Vice President, Secretary of State,

Secretary of Defense and the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness. Because NSC has always had a role in policy-making, it was not at all unusual that Defense had a liaison office there. This has been a common practice whenever a department or agency has a continuing relationship with another body. The Pentagon, for example, has a large liaison staff on Capitol Hill, as do other executive departments. Because the Pentagon has more generals and flag officers than it could possibly use in *military* command or staff positions, a rear admiral, Robert Welander, was not an unusual choice to head the office.

In theory this office should have done little more than move papers from one pigeonhole to another, but we now know it did much more. According to the *Washington Post*, "copies of classified documents and verbatim notes or secret tape recordings of National Security Council meetings" were transmitted to senior Pentagon officials. In fact, the chairman of the JCS, Admiral Thomas Moorer, was one of the recipients. Although he first denied as "ludicrous" news stories that he received material through unauthorized channels, he later admitted receiving "working papers" and "a collection of roughs and carbon copies." However, he asserted: "I want to assure the American people that I have never issued any instructions, or gave [sic] any orders, either directly or implied, to anyone to provide me unauthorized information."

To anyone who has seen time in the military, the admiral's alibi hardly seems plausible. I have known majors who would send a routine letter back to be typed anew if there was a single *correction* on the page. The clerical staff of the chairman of the JCS is used to producing only the most crisp and precise documents for

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the boss. Hence, Moorer almost certainly must have presumed that the "roughs" and "carbon copies" which crossed his desk were yanked from someone else's files. But did he ask any of his assistants: "Where did these papers come from?" Apparently not. Now, he admits, "I should have, perhaps, been more alert and followed through on the exact manner in which these papers were acquired." If one accepts that answer at face value, one must conclude the admiral lacks good judgment. Is he, then, competent to assess the Soviet military "threat"?

Grave Challenge?

What is one to make of the Pentagon's spying on Dr. Kissinger? Some have seen in this incident a grave challenge to civilian control. Frankly, I do not. Rather, it seems to be another case of that disease endemic to Washington: bureaucratic infighting. Just as the large grain export corporations wanted (and apparently got) advance word on the sale of wheat to Russia, generals and admirals want to know what the White House has in store for their pet weapons projects. Nixon's and Kissinger's international political moves in 1971, however, were simply not the sort which could be committed to paper and widely circulated because vested interests would certainly have tried to sabotage the plans through leaks to the press.

In May 1971, for example, the President and Soviet Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev broke the deadlock at the strategic arms limitation talks by agreeing to concentrate on reaching an agreement to limit missile defenses. The Army, which was then eagerly looking forward to its belated entry to the missile age with its 12-site Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system, would no doubt have tried to scuttle that initiative on the launching pad. In July the President announced he would visit China and the Soviet Union the following year. How many "Cold Warriors" in State and Defense would have tried to kill that gambit? Because one of the surest ways to kill a major change in policy is to have it leaked prematurely to the press, the JCS had to be frozen out of certain key policy discussions. To this end Kissinger was largely successful. (That the military resorted to rifling his files is the best indication of that success.) And while the incident is deplorable, in the context of Washington's bureaucratic intrigue, it is understandable.

The British have a delightful habit of firing the top man whenever an organization has a major failure or scandal. While the chopping block frequently does little to change the institution or circumstances which led to the problem, the certainty of the falling ax puts senior officials on notice that they will be held accountable for the actions of their subordinates. In the United States, unfortunately, we entertain the *theory* of executive responsibility but not its practice. Admiral Moorer, in this instance, has acknowledged his "institutional responsibil-

ity," and his civilian superior, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, has said that Moorer "should have been more alert in this matter." However, no disciplinary action was taken when the incident was discovered by the White House in early 1972, and Schlesinger believes "there is a rebuttable presumption against re-opening the matter for disciplinary purposes, unless major new facts were to emerge."

In other words, instead of firing Moorer or allowing him "early retirement," he will retain his high post. Although the liaison office was abolished in the wake of the incident, the man who ran it, Admiral Welander, was not reprimanded. Indeed, he now holds an even higher post as assistant deputy chief of naval operations for plans and policy. The navy enlisted man, Yeoman Charles Radford, said to have been the source of certain press leaks from Kissinger's file (e.g., the "tilt" in favor of Pakistan in the Indo-Pakistani war) was simply re-assigned to a naval installation in Salem, Oregon.

Measured against more serious scandals, the Pentagon's pilfering of Kissinger's files seems more comic than cosmic, but the incident has nonetheless raised serious questions. Does the cover-up "ethic" pervade all areas of government? What other scandals are presently being hidden?

While it certainly did not originate with Mylai, that massacre and the Army's nearly successful cover-up showed just how far willing officials, who hold positions in public trust, would go to suppress evidence of a crime. Were there other massacres? Perhaps, but we will not learn of them unless another ex-military photographer has pictures to give a curious journalist. The discovery of the Watergate break-in was similarly an accident: the result of a suspicious night guard. In this spying incident, the Pakistan "tilt" news leak ultimately led the White House's special investigative unit, "The Plumbers," with the help of wiretaps, to the liaison office. The common element in these three cases was an attitude that could be summed up by a phrase often heard in gangster movies: "Keep quiet and won't anybody get hurt."

And nobody did, at least for a time. Instead of becoming a sacrificial lamb, Admiral Welander was given an important billet. The chairman of the JCS kept the top job, and the world did not learn about "The Plumbers." In short, the interests of the bureaucracy and the participants were served.

Yet the story did ultimately come out, and the cover-up, it seems to me, only made the revelation that much more damaging to those involved. Although no actual crimes may have been committed, Admiral Moorer, for one, will end his long naval career under a cloud. If he did not realize he was getting unauthorized material, he has the judgment of a fool. If, instead, he set in motion the plan to rifle Kissinger's files, he is guilty, at the very least, of unethical conduct.

Moorer now says the information he got was "essen-

tially useless," and it probably was, but that is beside the point. If a midshipman at Annapolis had received a "carbon copy" of a final exam in advance and failed to report it to his superiors, when he was later caught, no claim that the paper was "essentially useless" would have stopped the service from expelling him. Should the Navy's highest ranking officer be held to a lesser standard than a midshipman?

The most serious consequence of this incident has been the further erosion of public confidence in the

institutions of government. Although many people may disagree with a particular military policy (e.g., Vietnam), the public has generally perceived the nation's military leaders to be men of integrity. Now, that perception is likely to change for the worse. Senator Harold Hughes, Democrat of Iowa, summed up the situation succinctly and, I think, accurately when he asked: "If the top agencies of our government cannot trust one another, how can we expect the American people to trust their government?"

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF FRANK RIZZO

T. LAURENCE BERRY

The kind of cop who made civil libertarians appreciate J. Edgar Hoover

Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III might well have profited by their examples. So might have Frank L. Rizzo. But, like the eighteenth-century English monarch before him, Philadelphia's Mayor said, in effect, damn the torpedoes and full speed ahead. It cost him dearly. The one-time police commissioner has two full years yet to run on his term in City Hall, but, barring a miraculous comeback, Big Frank is finished as a political force in the Quaker City. The Maverick Mayor overplayed his hand.

Frank Rizzo is a cop's son who became a cop. He came from an authoritarian Italian-American background and his attitude toward criminals was rather akin to that of a frontier vigilante lynch mob. He was the kind of cop who made the civil libertarians appreciate J. Edgar Hoover, but he had ability and a penchant for attracting attention and he rose rapidly through the ranks. Eventually he made Commissioner. Philadelphians were deeply divided about Frank Rizzo. There was no middle ground—either you loved him or you hated him.

Running for mayor as a Democrat, he won the election by carrying white-ethnic, blue-collar wards along with traditionally Republican areas. For the most part the blacks wanted no part of him, and the McGovernite liberals wouldn't have touched him with a ten-foot pole. The morning after election day, Philadelphia's Democratic party leadership found itself stuck with a Mayor-elect who was offensive to two of the most important elements of the rank-and-file membership of the party. Frank Rizzo had indeed a political base, but it was his own, not the Democratic party's. Given this tenuous

situation and the Rizzo temperament, trouble was inevitable.

For the first few months of his administration, all was well and good. Mayor Rizzo hired Lennox Moak, an aging fiscal wizard, to balance the city budget and prevent the tax increase Candidate Rizzo had promised Philadelphians would not come if he were elected. And true to his word, Big Frank eased out of office the liberal leadership of the Philadelphia Housing Authority and the experimentalist Superintendent of Schools within weeks of his inauguration. Perhaps even more significant, for more weeks than a few Rizzo, the tough-talking, ungrammatical ex-cop adopted a demeanor reasonably approximating statesmanship and decor. Even his most fervent detractors were cautiously hoping for the best.

Then all hell broke loose. First, Rizzo found himself the third party in a feud between two gubernatorial aspirants: Philadelphia's Republican District Attorney Arlen Specter and Pennsylvania's Democratic incumbent Governor Milton Shapp, who, realizing even at that early date he could scarcely run successfully for re-election on the basis of his achievements in office, was maximizing his incumbency and the state police to make Arlen Specter and law enforcement in Philadelphia look bad. Ex-police commissioner that he was and not an unambitious sort, Rizzo waded headlong into the battle. He came down squarely on the side of the Republican Specter. Meanwhile, the gubernatorial election was still three years away and Rizzo was already committed against Shapp.

Came the 1972 Nixon-McGovern tilt, and Big Frank backed Nixon. He did so openly, vehemently, and greeted the Nixon re-election with jocular triumph. He was hardly acting like a man with a precarious political base.

The last straw came in the spring of 1973. The

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Democrats had to choose what seemed at the time like a sacrificial ticket to run for District Attorney and Controller (of Philadelphia) against Arlen Specter and Tom Gola. Rizzo wanted his own men slated. Party Chairman Pete Camiel said no. Big Frank exploded, and vowed to back the Specter-Gola team in November, no big sacrifice in view of his close professional relationship with Specter. The stage was set for a vicious intra-party brawl between Frank Rizzo, the Italian ex-cop, and Pete Camiel, the Polish beer-baron.

Until August, the Mayor seemed to have the upper hand. Specter and Gola looked like sure winners. And while Camiel was hardly free from the taint of political "deals," smoke-filled back rooms, and machine politics, Rizzo was a political novice, a straight-talking, straight-shooting ex-cop who was as good as his word. In the white ethnic blue-collar wards, Frank Rizzo was loved and respected as no other politician had been since John F. Kennedy. He had broken with the party, when it suited his purposes, and with part of the party constituency. But—thus far at least—when he had broken with the party he and not they had proved correct, and he had his own constituency. The Democrats needed Rizzo more than vice-versa.

Then came the turning point. In the midst of an exchange of charges and counter-charges between himself and Pete Camiel, Rizzo agreed to take a lie-detector test about who had offered whom a "deal" about patronage. Camiel passed the test. Rizzo didn't. His White Knight image evaporated like a mid-July shower on a Philadelphia sidewalk. His constituency sagged its collective shoulder. Big Frank stood exposed as just another politician.

From that point on it was all downhill. Milton Shapp's Watergates were obscured by Richard Nixon's Watergate, and if a grand jury was investigating Pete Camiel, well, so what? That's not far from par for the course, for orthodox Philly politicians, and maybe not for national representatives of the species either. But what could be forgiven Milton Shapp and Pete Camiel could not be forgiven Frank Rizzo, who came as a sort of secular savior to resurrect Philadelphia from its own political Hades. "Just another politician, just like the rest of them," echoed through the taprooms and the pizzerias of Kensington and Manayunk and South Philly. Teddy Kennedy had his Chappaquiddick, Nixon his Watergate, and now Frank Rizzo had failed a lie-detector test. There no longer was a Rizzo constituency, at least not as there had been.

Still Big Frank didn't give up. Confident of his staying power, he proclaimed with fanfare that he would announce, just prior to election day when it would be too late for them to respond, the names of four judges he considered "too lenient." A city inured to dirty politics behind-the-scenes revolted at dirty politics in-the-open. On election day the "Lenient Four" swept to victory.

So did the rest of the Democratic ticket, including the nonentities opposing Arlen Specter and Tom Gola. Specter, a shopworn candidate cynically using the election as a springboard for higher office, turned off a lot of voters. The White House incumbent, of Specter's party, turned off more. Philadelphia has a heavy Democratic registration majority; there was a light voter turnout, and most of the Democratic regulars obviously made it to the polls. All of which militated toward a GOP defeat. The Rizzo backing still hurt the favored but defeated Specter-Gola ticket.

Philadelphia's Republicans don't want Frank Rizzo and won't take him. The usual assortment of "usually-reliable well-placed sources" quoted "a prominent local GOP leader" as telling a Democratic counterpart, while Big Frank was still a prospective mayoral candidate, that "that fella (Rizzo) will ruin your party." His unfortunate escapades beginning with the lie-detector test have enervated, if not destroyed, his strength with the independent constituency he once might have claimed as his own. If the Democrats ever run him again for anything, it will be completely without liberal support and with very little black support. The guess is here that after 1975 you'll never hear of him again.

WAYNING TALENTS



THE SCREEN

McQ is a film about how you just don't know whom to trust these days. The film begins with the assassination of two cops by a man who is afterwards revealed to be a veteran cop himself. And as if the revelation that even cops can't trust cops weren't enough, it next transpires that this Cain among Abels, this two-timing old timer, doesn't have any idea whom *he* can trust either. Having ditched the murder weapon with an accomplice waiting to receive it, the killer is shotgunned in the back as soon as he turns to leave. Even by today's standards this is a pretty acrobatic plot so far, especially when you consider that all this happens while we're still waiting for the credits to end.

Now into this maelstrom of betrayal drops John Wayne as *McQ*, a Seattle super-cop who is the partner of the assassinated assassin. Perhaps because we find him living alone on a cabin cruiser, we sense at once that *McQ* is at sea. He is insulated from the corruption and conspiracies of the very city he would police. He's going to have to be a pretty super cop just to compensate for his own stupidity in these matters. Over the course of the film *McQ* must therefore learn, and learn to accept, the sordid truth about his partner, to say nothing of his partner's

sweet, bereft wife. The people McQ is closest to generally end up being proven rotten. In fact, all his best friends are just rotten, crooked, rotten crooks. Nasty. Rotten. (I would be the last person to bring up guilt by association, but the whole business is really enough to make you start wondering about old John himself.)

Though McQ never seems to notice it, the only people who level with him are a black pimp and a pill-popping hooker. McQ has a hunch that the biggest heroin racketeer in town is responsible for his partner's death. After all, the guy is a Puerto Rican or Mexican or something like that. But when the hunch proves groundless, poor McQ confusedly begins suspecting the highest echelon at the police department instead, and turns out to be equally wrong about them. Even in the big chase scene, when a second van appears in traffic identical to the one McQ has been following, he gets all mixed up and instinctively goes after the wrong one.

In a way surviving in this film is as big a break-through for John Wayne as it is for McQ. For the past several years Wayne's directors and scriptwriters have been gently trying to suggest to him that there may be more duplicity in the world than his films admit. True, Wayne's courtiers have been timid about introducing the big fellow to such *au courant* ideas. For instance in *The Train Robbers*, the last Wayne feature I saw, though the widow lady with whom Wayne flirts also turns out to be, as in *McQ*, a low-down crook, this aspect of her nature isn't revealed until the last scene when it can have only slight, retroactive effect on the plot. But the seeds sown there are, I imagine, what have flowered in *McQ*, Wayne's first film in several years with a contemporary setting and story.

I guess I'm glad that Wayne would now like to join the rest of us here in the second half of the twentieth century, and I don't doubt that he sincerely wants to help us cope. But I'm not sure I feel safe having him here. The fact is that he remains unreformed. He's still the same lovable, dangerous bully that he's been in all those Westerns Nixon likes so much—the ones where Wayne can always tell the good guys from the bad and right from wrong just by his intuition for such things. In *McQ*, even though he guesses wrong about seventy-five percent of the time, he stays as cocksure as ever that he knows what he's doing. No one gets killed as a result, this time, but the whole performance leaves me uneasy about the future.

Despite McQ's inability to figure out what in blue blazes is going on at any given moment, whenever his superior, Kosterman (Eddie Albert), suspends him from the force and takes his gun away, the film's director, John Sturges, somehow contrives to get him another one, usually a bigger one. It's a typical chain of events in these films where the star is also the producer. Though McQ may be working for Kosterman, John Sturges is working for McQ. As for me, I'm on Kosterman's side, even if

he is supposed to be the villain of the piece.

Unlike John Wayne, French director Claude Lelouch has had no new ideas lately, as his most recent release, *Happy New Year*, demonstrates all too clearly. Far from taking any steps forward, in fact, Lelouch seems to be regressing in this film. His last film released here, *Money, Money, Money*, did use exactly the same plot structure as the film before it. But it also seemed to make at least some comic advance on the sort of magazine-fiction characters that had dominated Lelouch's films since *A Man and a Woman*. When the new film begins with a clip from *A Man and a Woman*, we can only fear, quite rightly, that Lelouch has returned to thinking of characters as so much window dressing. In this film he not only uses the same plot development for the third time in a row, but goes back to trying to develop characters who date from even earlier in his career.

The plot is one in which we begin, unknowingly, at the end of the story, and then flashback to the beginning. The shift of gears from present to past is accompanied by a change from black and white to color, though otherwise it goes unacknowledged until near the end of the film when, at last catching up with the beginning again, we finally figure out what the plot structure is and how events fit together. I think of this structuring as a mere gimmick because nothing in any of the three plots Lelouch has used it for requires it. The fact that he could use so rigid a formal device independently for three different stories suggests by itself how without intrinsic and individual style those stories are. Lelouch might be thought of as a popularizer of Alain Resnais' work in *Hiroshima Mon Amour* or *Last Year at Marienbad*, except that Resnais' work has already achieved popularity enough not to need any vulgar versions.

Similarly, since the type of characters Lelouch has now returned to didn't bear much developing in the first place, his return to them is disappointing. This time it's a couple of jewel thieves (Lino Venturi and Charles Gerard) and a shopkeeper (Françoise Fabian) whom one of them romances in aid of a plan to rob Van Cleef and Arpels next door. She is a character whose life has been so sheltered by elegance that bemusement is the only emotion she is capable of. He, on the other hand, is a character so jaded by experience that bemusement is the only emotion, etc. In other words, they're perfectly matched. For him, we feel, she could turn to crime. For her, we wonder, could he give it up? The question is which one will sacrifice what for the other, when?

But maybe I'm being too hard on Lelouch's work. Friends who are less dogged moviegoers than I enjoyed the film and thought me a bit too high-toned to be helpful when I didn't. A Lelouch film is entertaining, I admit—any Lelouch film. Let's just say that when you've seen one you've seen them all, and need not bother to go back.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

an exchange of views

'The Future of the Catholic Peace Movement'

Worcester, Mass.

To the Editors: Having taken many of us to school on matters relating to war, conscience, and church doctrine, Gordon Zahn discusses the future of the Catholic peace movement, with both authority and experience on his side [Dec. 28]. As pacifist and sociologist, he issues a challenge to the Catholic peace movement to fulfill its responsibilities toward resisters, exiles, and political prisoners of the Indochina war now and toward peace and justice in the future. The article is so comprehensive as to deserve a lengthier response than I can make here, hoping that Zahn's remarks will serve as a basis for further thought and action through seminars, teach-ins, and discussions on American college campuses and in churches throughout the coming year.

As a somewhat erratic, dues-paying fellow traveler of the Catholic peace movement, whose "profile as symbol and spokesman" could hardly be lower, I would like to raise several questions, however, about Zahn's remarks, trying hard not to misunderstand what he said, but nonetheless challenging several of his conclusions about "where we go from here." On the basis of my occasional experience as a local and sometimes regional worker, I have to speak personally to his argument (1) because I would like to be as concrete as possible; and (2) because I am part of a constituency, I think, that acknowledged leaders of the Catholic peace movement, such as Zahn, wish to reach and teach.

Speaking frankly, I think Zahn wants to have it both ways, that is (1) to encourage and build "a viable Catholic peace movement" and at the same time (2) to set up guidelines as to who does or does not qualify as a legitimate "Catholic" peace activist. As

a person trying to apply what Zahn, Merton, and others have taught me about the violence of the status quo, I question his present recommendations on several counts. The matter may be, as he suggests, a generational one, although there are "younger" members of the Catholic peace movement (Tom Cornell, I think, among them) who feel as Gordon Zahn does: that members of the Catholic peace movement should "present themselves as loyal and committed members of the institutional Church."

But how does one honestly do that in the present situation? How does one remain "loyal" to an institution that is so frequently and blatantly sexist, monarchial, and capitalist in policy? How does one speak of nonviolence and *not* confront the implicit violence of the Church (or the university or the state),



their top-down management in almost all matters of government and structure? How can one *not* question the stupid divisions and expose the ridiculous parochialism of the Church, if he accepts the best in what Catholicism taught him? Why should one accept "special obligations of self-discipline" that sound like orders to toe the mark, on matters that he regards as both psychologically and theologically unsound? How can one *not* try to encourage alternatives to the establishment in religion, as elsewhere, and why should one have to give up these concerns in order to be a "good" member of something called "the Catholic peace movement"?

In the past ten years, the movement toward new models for ministry, lit-

urgy, and religious vocations, has been just as strong as the movement for peace, among Catholics. It cannot be dismissed as simply an expression of "personal morality," as Zahn implies. (One local liturgical experiment, interfaith and intercommunion, that I am familiar with survives into its seventh year; many cities harbor similar "unorthodox" congregations, with predominantly Catholic memberships.) Any Catholic peace movement that does not recognize such new modes of behavior will hamper itself unnecessarily. I am arguing, in other words, for a Catholic peace movement that is more "catholic" than the Church, a movement that is sensitive to a larger constituency than Zahn wishes to recognize.

For young people, particularly, the traditional definitions of what is "good" Catholic practice have simply disappeared: they do not marry in the Catholic Church; they—and increasing numbers of their elders, according to Andrew Greeley's recent study—do not attend Mass on Sunday; yet they have no qualms about calling themselves Catholic, as one might call himself American, or a Minneapolitan, or an Atlantan, and still regard their values, their resistance to war and oppression, as peculiarly Catholic.

I understand the dangers of elitism among "liberated" Catholics, that Zahn speaks about; but there is another kind of elitism, too, one that defines the term Catholic too narrowly and waits impatiently for others to "come back" to the fold before they can be regarded as full citizens or as "symbols or spokesmen for a movement that identifies itself as Catholic."

The goal of the Catholic peace movement is nothing less than an end to war. It is against that goal, rather than what effect it has on the Church, it seems to me, that any success on the part of

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the movement must be measured. I agree that the goal of moving the Church is extremely important; in that work, no one has been more successful than Gordon Zahn, by his life and writings. (In the face of that accomplishment, my speaking on this matter is presumptuous, to say the least.)

But I question his using the post-World War II era as an historical basis for the posture of the Catholic peace movement at the present time. The situation in the Church and society is different now, so different—in part because of the successes of the last decade—as to make the past of little value as a guide to the future.

To anyone deeply involved, day in and day out, in non-violent resistance to war and oppression, this whole discussion may seem patently irrelevant. One is conscious always of Dorothy Day's words (to mention another person who wouldn't agree with a word I've said): "We talk so much and do so little. God help us!" But "for the good of the movement, even at the price of division and dissension," as Zahn says, the matter may be worth some consideration, some clarification. In his article, he spoke to these concerns with characteristic clarity and directness. But unless "Bishop" Zahn institutes some kind of excommunication of undesirable elements, he will have to work within a wider range of possibilities in membership and probably in leadership than he has allowed for thus far.

Whatever our feelings on this matter, 1974—the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Catholic Peace Fellowship—is a good year to rededicate ourselves to the important work of peacemaking that Gordon Zahn has outlined and to carry it on.

MICHAEL TRUE

Reply

Mike True puts me at a disadvantage by exaggerating my contributions to the Catholic peace movement while playing down his own, a fine rhetorical ploy that will fool no one who has

participated in the highly successful regional gatherings of the Catholic Peace Fellowship he organizes every year. Still I am pleased that he has responded to my invitation to discuss some of the admittedly sensitive issues I raised in my article.

I confess that I am traditionalist enough to view the structured (or, if he prefers, "institutionalized") religious community we know as the Roman Catholic Church as the vehicle of salvation it has claimed to be throughout its long centuries of existence. I agree it has all the failings he lists, and more. Certainly its promise will not be fulfilled unless those failings are corrected. I insist, however, that those corrections must come principally from within and through the efforts of individual believers who have enough love and respect for "the Church" to abide by onerous rules and practices even as they work to effect the necessary changes. Such changes we have already witnessed (liturgical reforms; an awakened concern for the poor; the public repudiations of racism and anti-Semitism; even the too hesitant search for an "entirely new attitude" toward war—pitiful beginnings all, perhaps, but still beginnings) would not have been accomplished if "loyal" Catholics like H. A. Reinhold, Paul Hanly Furfey, John LaFarge, Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, and others too numerous to mention had cut themselves loose from "the institutional Church" and its oppressive and confining authoritarianism, choosing instead to make their own rules and live according to their own private standards of "proper" Catholic behavior.

Mike's description of the situation today as respects the young people (and, as Greeley has shown, increasingly the older people as well) is accurate; but I, for one, am not yet resigned to a situation which equates "Catholic" with "Minneapolis." Thus, if the designation, *Catholic* peace movement, is at all meaningful, there should be something to distinguish it from the more generalized designation, *Christian* peace movement (not forgetting that there are some who reject even that as too

narrow and confining a designation as well). For me the distinction implies at least the following: a professed identification with a particular spiritual and sociological entity, its history, and its values; the acceptance of a personal obligation to perfect its witness so that it may become a suitable vehicle for the truth it claims to possess (in our special case, to make it an effective vehicle for the pacifist message contained in the Gospel teachings); and to recognize a direct and prior obligation to "convert" that target audience I mentioned, our fellow Catholic Christians who are not yet ready to accept our interpretations of what "the Church" should be and should be doing.

We may not succeed in that immediate future with which my article was concerned, but I would hope that failure will not be due to a too hasty acceptance of "new modes of behavior" which undercut the religious identity we presumably wish to maintain (else why a *Catholic* peace movement at all?) or alienate those we should be trying to reach. Let there be no talk of "excommunications" even in jest. All that is needed—certainly all I intended—is the reminder that these considerations deserve more weight than Mike seems willing to allow.

GORDON C. ZAHN

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●
SISTER MAURA, S.S.N.D.

ACCIDENT

The car was like this:
a crushed corn flake box.

How? They swung off the beltway,
a side road, up an embankment

into the oak. So drunk
they were loose as mud.

So sober they walked out
like the three young men

from the fiery furnace.
You remember their names, don't you?

THE ANTI-FEMINIST BACKLASH

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

The Inevitability of Patriarchy

STEVEN GOLDBERG

Morrow, \$6.95

Sexual Suicide

GEORGE F. GILDER

Quadrangle, \$7.95

Goldberg and Gilder have launched the opening sallies in what promises to be a virulent anti-feminist backlash. Both *The Inevitability of Patriarchy* and *Sexual Suicide* set up a monolithic image of feminism as the straw-woman against which the authors launch their attacks. Unfortunately, each analysis is both strident and intemperate in tone and a complete muddle insofar as coherent reasoning and scholarship are concerned. These are serious charges and, within the necessary limits of this review, I intend to defend them.

The Inevitability of Patriarchy is the more infuriating of the two books because its author claims to be engaged in rigorous, scientific theory-building from a stance of neutral objectivity. He assures us that his effort has borne wondrous fruit indeed, for he has found the limits to which "every society that has ever existed" must conform. The major elements in this theory, good for all times and all places, are the presumed universality of both patriarchy and male-dominance and their continued inevitability.

Patriarchy is defined by Goldberg as "any system of organization that associates authority and leadership primarily with males." Male dominance, on the other hand, is a feeling "acknowledged by the emotions of both men and women that the woman's will is somehow subordinate to the male's and that general authority in dyadic and familial relationships . . . ulti-

mately resides in the male." Goldberg presumes that extant anthropological evidence demonstrates the universality of systems of patriarchy. As he must surely know, however, to use a single term (like "patriarchy") to describe every society ever known results in a complete mystification. Words mean different things within the contexts of disparate societies.

It is a mistake for both feminists and their opponents to point to simple tribal societies or societies of dubious historicity to argue for or against feminist propositions. Comparing the way of life of the Mbuti Pygmies with that of a complex, technological, modern society like our own, and labeling both "patriarchal" is rather like trying to derive an elephant from an earthworm. At a certain point differences in complexity become differences in kind. We simply cannot (if we wish to be both honest and rational) use identical terms to discuss the social organizations of every society. To do so places us in peril of sharing Goldberg's patriarchal Procrustean bed.

The case for male dominance is even more problematic. Goldberg, remember, has defined male dominance as a feeling "acknowledged by the emotions." This feeling, he goes on, is "reflected" in the "expectations" of male and female behavior in every society. Feelings, of course, cannot "acknowledge" anything. More importantly, it is impossible to hypothesize feelings from behavior—in this society or any other. It is particularly ironic that Goldberg argues the case for male dominance on the basis of 'feelings' imputed from behavior, for he also condemns feminists for their simple-minded inability to understand or appreciate the "inner elegance" of Freudian theory. The single most important presumption of Freudian theory, as anyone who has read Freud knows, is

that action is not an accurate index to some internal state at all; in fact, behavior and feelings may exist in a radical disjuncture from one another.

Goldberg's model of patriarchy and male dominance is erected on a base of biological causality. The root of both, he believes, lies in some "hormonal factor which gives males a greater capacity for aggression . . ."; indeed, the "inevitable social manifestations of sexual differences in aggression are sufficient to explain the inevitability of patriarchy. . . ." What exactly is this "aggression" from which all else flows? It is "unspecified . . . dimorphic behavior." Huh? Goldberg doesn't think he need either *describe* or *explain* "the behavior which I subsume under the hypothesized aggression. . . ." He simply gives this thing, whatever it is, the "operational designation aggression."

Goldberg's potent "unspecified dimorphic" quality determines, or is "related to," or is "manifested in," or "reflected in" the institutions of all societies. Every society must "conform to its expectations." Who does Goldberg think he is kidding with this arrogant display of word-magic? To accept his arguments at face value the reader must agree that a quality of which we need know nothing leads inexorably to feelings and behavior which need not be described (but are labeled "male dominance") to which, in turn, all social institutions (labeled "patriarchy") must conform. Goldberg's putative scientific argument literally unravels as one analyzes it piece-by-piece. I have never read a social science work which required (if one were to agree to its major presumptions) such a total suspension of common sense and amputation of the critical faculties.

Gilder's *Sexual Suicide* is prejudiced from the very beginning, for Gilder states that he is not at all interested in human beings; in fact, he wouldn't even

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want to meet one. He is concerned with *men and women*. Any person who puts on a pair of conceptual spectacles labeled "the important characteristics are those that divide the sexes," will find, not surprisingly, that all sorts of "significant" things divide us because he will have ignored or minimized the many more traits that men and women, as persons, share in common. These include a capacity for suffering and joy, for intelligent thought, for making choices and setting goals. For Gilder, women *are* their bodies and it is as biological creatures that women have some "special contribution" to make. This is the traditional argument of anti-Feminists and anti-egalitarians. It glosses over the fact that women in American society receive the same education as men and are socialized into the standards and values of the culture. This means that both men and women experience needs for self-validation in a context beyond the simply private.

Perhaps the best way to approach Gilder's book is to provide a few brief samples of his florid, emotive prose style—language calculated to stir up prejudices. He speaks of "wife swapping, group swinging and gay liberation," of "dildoes in drugstore windows." He pictures gangs of ghetto youths marauding with "phalluses high." He condemns Feminists who have "prurient obsessions with rape," and others who "get vicarious kicks out of macho violence — the sexy terminal swaggers and gun fetishisms — of the black guerrilla."

He rationalizes away the importance of racism in anti-busing sentiments by calling these sentiments the simple

"common sense" of those "non-intellectual Americans" who are holding at bay the hordes of "feminists, sexologists, male chauvinists and pornographers." (Gilder's favorite tripartite grouping of odious elements, by my count, is "liberationists, sexologists, and pornographers.") He defends lack of gun control legislation by urging that the gun is an important "emblem of male as hunter" and that it "objectively increases the man's capacity to defend his household." Why don't men in

other Western societies seem to need this symbol of their primordial hunting past? Furthermore, Gilder repeats *ad nauseam* throughout his book that it is single males who most often commit crimes of violence, including those with guns. If those using guns are overwhelmingly single males where does the defense of wife and children enter in?

Gilder's courting of racist (as well as sexist) fears and hatreds runs like an ominous thread throughout *Sexual Suicide*. He emphasizes crimes by

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THOMAS PAINE

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REVIEWERS

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FATHER ROBERT P. IMBELL teaches at St. Joseph's Seminary at Dunwoodie in New York.

single (mostly black) men; he writes of ghetto youths with drawn knives, of "tens of thousands of male gangs in the cities." He frets over those "influential groups" now failing to reproduce themselves. These are all standard stock-in-trade features of racist argument. The book panders to the worst and meanest paranoia of an already retrenching middle-class. I find this irresponsible in the extreme. Gilder's analysis represents a turning back of the clock on consideration of the hard issues of political, economic, and social reform by insisting that the source of all our troubles lies in some "basic simple," in this case, sexual socialization.

I will point to just two examples of the fallacies with which the book is rife. (*Sexual Suicide* positively bristles with *ad hominem* attacks, circular definitions, question begging, and oversimplifications.) Gilder is consistently inconsistent in his own terms. He argues at one point that to treat marriage as a contract destroys it. True marriage involves a "commitment not to exchange products or services but to escape the psychology of exchange altogether." Yet he later notes the "terms of exchange" on which marriage is based, namely, the woman grants sexual affirmation to the man and he gives her his "external achievement." Or, a woman chooses a particular man to marry in order that he may "submit his marketplace reward to her."

The ludicrous over-simplifications of which Gilder is guilty may be exemplified by his discussion of the "eight major reasons" for why women should receive less pay than men for identical

work. These include the fact that men must be able to counterbalance female sexual superiority by success in the marketplace, or that men need money to spend on the opposite sex, and so on. There is not a single reference to the fact that capitalists reap higher profits by giving women lower wages. Women in this society comprise an unprotected, easily exploited labor-force. Any book that omits the capitalistic-industrial system in a discussion of jobs and wages for women doesn't deserve serious attention.

Perhaps the best final word on both books comes from Erik Erikson who, in an essay Gilder cites but seems to have systematically misunderstood, states: "... where dominant identities depend on being dominant it is hard to grant real equality to the dominated. And, finally, when one feels exposed, threatened, or cornered, it is difficult to be judicious."

In Praise of Darkness

JORGE LUIS BORGES

Trans. by Norman Thomas diGiovanni

Dutton, \$8.95

RONALD CHRIST

In his poem "John, I:14" Borges has Christ say that he's entrusted the writing of his words "to a common man;/ they will never be what I want to say/ but only their shadow." And the same divergence of spirit and scribe can be seen in Borges' poems, all of which, somehow, imply a poet but, equally mysteriously, never fully produce his voice. Like the frugal stars he mentions in "Rubaiyat," his poems hold their treasures back. Like those stars, his poems are distant, they are cool, they are tiny, they are remotely bright. Most of all, though, they are only and lastingly themselves.

I don't mean that Borges' poems display the extravagant stinginess of much modern poetry, the pharisaic abuse of the commandment "less is more." Not at all. Nor that he pays out in fashionably flat diction. (Although phrases like "that white thing, the moon" are

the kind of achieved failure, the signal frustration this sort of diction aims at, or should.) Nor even that the real voice of Borges is in his short stories and that his poetry is metrical ventriloquism. (That, after all, is the vulgar temptation and so the easiest to avoid.) No, I mean that reading his poems is like listening to someone pacing in a carpeted study next door: we strain, we hear, we imagine, but we never do see.

In other words, that's all there is. And critical virtue lies not in complaining about what we lack in these poems, but in realizing that it is the poems themselves that teach us that want, coming as they do from a now notorious humility which proclaims: "Let others boast of pages they have written,/ I take pride in those I've read," from a man who reminds us in the title poem about his blindness that "To think, Democritus tore out his eyes" and says "All through my life things were too many." Borges has only been able to give by taking away and he imagines the taking away has been a giving back—his sight for his vision, for instance. What's at stake is not the truth of his statements, their autobiographical or even "poetic" truth; rather, it is the hazard of an imagination acting on the less, on the *least* in order to see the *most*. As always, Borges' imagination is precisely superlative. Or, as Norman Thomas di Giovanni beautifully renders the poet's "*admirable-mente mezquinos*," "wondrously paltry."

Here, then, is the latest collection of poems by one of the three greatest writers alive today. It is the slimmest of slim volumes. Unpretentious in its diction, in its imagery, in its praise of "plain things" and even in its invocation of famous figures like the near-blind James Joyce, it in fact pretends to offering the "center," the "algebra" and the "key" to Borges. But the book will no doubt be passed over in favor of more obviously assuming works by a man who says here that he wants "to be remembered less as a poet than as a friend" anyway. This book does much to create that sense of Borges as a friend, an old friend, whose richness lies not in splendid moments but in

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emerges is an insightful case study of the legislative process that demonstrates how difficult it is for the public welfare to come out any better than second best.

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Common Cause, Ralph Nader's Congress Watch, and a growing number of public interest law groups in Washington are beginning to provide a countervailing force on a number of issues. The public may still be woefully under-represented before Congress and the federal regulatory agencies, but books like *The American Connection* should make people more aware of how things are done in Washington. The challenge is to translate indignation into sustained action.

***The Conspiracy of God:
The Holy Spirit in Men***

JOHN C. HAUGHEY, S.J.

Doubleday, \$4.95

***The Holy Spirit
in Today's Church***

ERLING JORSTAD, Editor

Abingdon, \$2.75

ROBERT P. IMBELL

Father Haughey's *The Conspiracy of God* is an exciting book, both in what it realizes and what it promises. I would judge it a pioneering work, con-

taining the best kind of theological insight: deeply personal without being idiosyncratic. In addition it is written in an incisive style, characteristic of its author who is an associate editor of *America* and wonderfully suited to communicate concepts that are as profound as they are fundamental to life in the Spirit.

For that, indeed, is Father Haughey's theme: life in the Spirit as the foundational fact which unites God and man in a "divine conspiracy" that is both our challenge and our destiny. The book might then be called a book on spirituality, if this term did not still stagger under the burden of several centuries of "pious *pensées*," blissfully quarantined from systematic theological reflection. Rather than such stock-in-trade spirituality, the promise which Haughey's book unfolds is that of a new enlivening of spirituality by solid theological reflection; or, better, of a new marriage of theology and spirituality after the deadening estrangement of the last centuries which so often produced a sentimental and privatized spirituality and an arid and unresponsive theology.

The titles of Father Haughey's chapters indicate the scope of his enterprise: "Jesus of Nazareth and the Spirit of God," "From Following Jesus to Being Led by the Spirit of Jesus," "The Personality of the Holy Spirit," "Contemporary Spiritualities and the Spirit," "Who Is Duped, Who Spirit Led?" And within an incredibly short compass of pages, he sets forth his salient points suggestively, never trivializing his subject, always conscious of the dimension of Mystery. Thus, for example, at the close of a very helpful concluding chapter on the discernment of spirits, he affixes this eminently commonsensical, yet all too rare reminder: "Advice such as these pages on discernment contain can sound like formulas for a successful rain dance if taken too literally or applied too rigidly. In the final analysis, it is the Spirit Itself Who teaches men the art of discernment by teaching them to love the One into whose Presence they have been led" (p. 153).

Who is this Spirit who so conspires with what is most genuine in our own becoming? This is the central question which Father Haughey's book addresses and to which it invites our reflection. (A question notoriously neglected in Catholic theology.) The Spirit's role, Haughey maintains, "is peculiarly directed to the area of intersubjectivity, creating a betweenness where there was isolation" (p. 7). The Spirit accomplishes this by realizing the self-identity of each, through the mutuality of relationship which He grounds. It is only in the Spirit of Love that true communion can be established. Thus, "it is peculiar to the Personality of the Spirit to knit people together, to enable relationship to grow where there were only 'I's' before" (p. 85).

Such is the Spirit's role in the economy of salvation, as witness the Pentecostal experience and its reversal of the division of Babel. But such, in analogous fashion, is also the Spirit's function in the immanent life of the Trinity. Here Haughey subscribes to Karl Rahner's "basic axiom" for Trinitarian theology: the "economic" Trinity is the "immanent" Trinity. And, though Haughey shows becoming hesitancy in speaking of the "Personality of the Holy Spirit," convinced that "ideas about the Spirit cannot contain the comprehensions they promise any more than sails can become containers of the winds they catch" (p. 94), he is also convinced of the necessity not to remain completely silent.

Of this we may be thankful. For Father Haughey has spoken reverently and aptly of the Holy Spirit. He has clearly marked out a path which, I am convinced, Christian theology must explore if it is to respond meaningfully to the contemporary need once more to "name the Whirlwind" in the felt accents and tones of our own day. He writes: "The mystery of the Trinity and of Jesus must be approached pneumatologically, i.e., traced to the Holy Spirit and to the role It plays in the Godhead itself. The Spirit must be seen in some way as the source of this union between Father and Son" (p. 29). In his book Father Haughey



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initiates such an approach. The ultimate promise the book presages, then, is the renewal of Trinitarian theology in the Catholic tradition. Only in such a seemingly "theoretical" context will the most pressing of practical problems find illumination: the purpose of freedom, the meaning of love, the realization of personhood, the quality of relations which constitute authentic community.

A potent force pressing for renewed reflection upon the Holy Spirit and the theology of the Trinity issues today from the charismatic or pentecostal movement both within and without the Catholic Church. In his *The Holy Spirit in Today's Church* Erling Jorstad, Professor of American Studies at St. Olaf's College, Minnesota, has edited a helpful "handbook of the new pentecostalism," designed as a basic introduction to the movement.

Jorstad himself supplies three brief opening chapters on the history of Pentecostalism in America, on the new Pentecostalism emergent in the 1960s and characterized by its flourishing within the mainline denominations, and on some of the controversy which its emergence has aroused. The remainder of the book is then divided into a number of topics characteristic of the movement such as "Baptism in the Holy Spirit" and "Speaking in Tongues" (to name but the two most distinctive). Jorstad selects brief excerpts from writers associated with Pentecostalism who present and explain the theme in question; this is often followed by a selection from a critic of the particular position. Though the passages chosen are brief, they give, for the most part, a representative survey of opinion on the matter. The inclusion of several critical selections lends an open and inquiring tone to the whole discussion, well suited to a vital and still developing movement.

What strikes the interested reader is the experiential and ecumenical nature of contemporary Pentecostalism. Many of the testimonies speak of a new "sense" of God, a "savoring" of His Presence, a "tasting" of His Goodness. One cannot but rejoice in the

discovery of God being granted to many; and one can note with interest the affinity to the language of the mystical tradition. For the charismatic movement seems to represent a recovery of the affective and experiential spirituality associated with names like Augustine, Bernard, and Ruysbroeck. Perhaps the challenge facing the movement (and the hope which its appearance within and not at the margin of the traditional churches elicits) is to submit the experience to sustained theological reflection. Some of the writers in Jorstad's book give evidence of a similar concern; while Father Haughey's book demonstrates some of the possibilities which such reflection offers for the clarification and heightening of experience.

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Michael Novak (Cont.)

hundredth anniversary of my favorite mentor's death it may, perhaps, be permissible to "come out": one of the seven times seven dwarfs upon the giant's shoulders in the succession of seven hundred years.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 3)

do not come to Mass, especially on New Year's Day, to be told all the problems of the human species in a twenty minute homily. My God, I would go home depressed if I went to Mass and heard the type of homily you recommend.

I believe matters of social concern must be sensitively interwoven with other human issues facing man today. There is a place and a time to preach the social gospel. Not on New Year's Day, however, in the manner suggested by your editorial!

We miss the boat, I think, when we do not celebrate in liturgy on that day the human reality which is so significant: namely, the beginning of a new year. The renewal of time by the ob-

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servance of the start of a new year is so deeply grounded in human nature that it is one of the oldest and most widespread expressions of ritual. It is sad, I think, that we seem to bypass the more earthy dimensions of life like circumcision and a new year in favor of more abstract and ethical themes.

(REV.) WILLIAM D. STEELE

McCormack's Complaint

Pleasantville, N.Y.

To the Editors: There was a time (and your recent anniversary issue was a reminder of it) when *Commonweal* could be counted on for hard-headed, sober, and responsible editorials. But your editorial of Feb. 1, "Mother McCormack's Complaint" is certainly not in the great tradition. The thinking evidenced in it is confused and the writing is incompetent. It would be a kindness to pass on a copy of Orwell's essay "Politics and the English Language" to the writer. He needs it.

The thumbnail sketch of the Society of the Sacred Heart is recognizable enough—though it is presented with all the snide, false sprightliness *Time* might muster for the subject. But the treatment given Miss McCormack warrants some comment. She is described as being, within her own field of higher education, "an agent for change." "A major change in her order, however"—as you put it—"was not for her; so she has started a new career." Surely the jaunty phrasing of this section of the editorial implies a judgment of Miss McCormack's decision—imputes a certain captiousness to it. Yet nothing has been actually said to which the

lady might take exception. Your editorial-writer, like Atticus, is willing to hint the worst, while saying nothing. Elsewhere in the article he mentions "the complaint" against Miss McCormack: "that she has changed things too much." Yet he never identifies the complainants. He leaves the reader to imagine armies of students, faculty, alumnae, parents, all shaking their heads sadly. Or is "the complaint" simply an inept rhetorical device like the nameless "critical observers" who detect certain patterns in the departure of prominent priests and nuns from the religious life (paragraph three) and the "others" who find the "bold tries to up-date static institutions have really been failing attempts to deal with deeper problems of faith. . . ." (paragraph four)?

In his final paragraph, your writer pompously announces: "we think religious colleges should keep their religious characters." Now this is interesting. Does *Commonweal* have an official position in this matter? One might as well say in an equally sweeping generalization: "we think members of religious orders would remain such." Surely such decisions are properly left to the individuals (or the individual institutions, in the cases of colleges and universities) to determine. Faculties, trustees, alumni of various institutions have agonized over the issue of secularization. To be sure, such decisions have often been shaped in good part by financial pressure. But there are many sound—and even pressing—intellectual arguments for such a shift, arguments blithely ignored by your writer, who deals with a delicate and complex matter in the following sentence: "We think religious colleges should keep their religious characters; but some institutions, in order to qualify for desperately-needed state financial aid, have had to declare themselves nonsectarian, while retaining their religious identity through influence rather than through power." The lack of focus, the loose connectives, the vague and evasive terminology are familiar enough. Listen closely at any Presidential press conference. Or read

Michael Novak. But please, *Commonweal*, remember your past, and try to keep the level of discourse in your editorials such that your next anniversary edition can proudly include items from 1974.

SUSAN R. GANNON

P.S. Needless to say, Miss McCormack deserves an apology.

Philadelphia, Pa.

To the Editors: Is your editorial, "Mother McCormack's Complaint" [Feb. 1], a guest editorial by any chance—say from *Triumph, The Wanderer*, or the *Standard and Times of Philadelphia*? One expects these publications to lambaste priests and nuns who decide to change their lifestyle, but I thought *Commonweal* was more tolerant and understanding.

In any case, what has Mother McCormack done to *Commonweal* to merit such criticism? I think it's overdone, especially since, as the editorial says, such changes are commonplace by now. But even if it is warranted, is there any reason why the criticism can't be offered directly, instead of being insinuated through the mouths of "critical experts"?

According to these "critical experts" (Is this phrase just a variation of the editorial "we"?), prominent priests and nuns who changed their vocations, did so after single-handedly changing the character and style of their religious orders. When they pulled out, they left "a disheartened community holding the bag." This criticism seems designed to place Mother McCormack and the other prominent priests and nuns just mentioned in the unflattering light of irresponsible and heartless behavior. But to me it seems an indictment of the disheartened community. Where were its members when the decisions were being made? Were they that uncritical and passive? Besides, don't they have any faith? And who exactly is it in?

You go on to say, quoting some more critical experts, that all the works accomplished by these people "have really been failing attempts to deal with deeper problems of faith—



in the church, in God, in the future of religious life." Now this is an ambiguous and confusing section of the editorial. Are you questioning the personal faith of these people? Or are you saying that all the reform programs they initiated were not to the point? It's just plain arrogant to pretend to do the first, and fatuous to engage in the second, a kind of Monday-morning quarterbacking.

What's more, your criticism of Mother McCormack is given from a perspective which clearly reveals your prejudice against the individual and for the institution. In the context of listing the changes some colleges are forced to make, you make this analogous case for religious orders: "And orders have simply had to redefine their ministries to meet new needs." It seems curiously inconsistent of you to berate Mother McCormack for doing just what the orders have done. *She* has redefined *her* ministries to meet *her* new needs. Yet you are querulous with her, while offering a palliating rationale for the institutions.

Finally, you concede that "these men and women, in their own ways, may have been instruments of God." But why do you seem to rule out the possibility that they still may be such instruments? Personally, I don't know if the knowledge that they once possibly were God's instruments will sustain them in the realization that God no longer has any use for them.

In short, your editorial smells of clericalism. It sees legitimacy only within the narrow confines of the rectory and the convent. It is questionable whether your hopes are really in the future of the church, or only in some preconceived notions of what constitutes legitimate reform.

Does the spirit breathe where it will, *Commonweal*, or only where you tell it?

WILLIAM G. AYLWARD

Gloucester, Mass.

To the Editors: The reasons for members of religious congregations changing their vocations surely are as diverse as the people themselves in their life situations. For me, these changes

constitute an insistent summons to view the life of a religious community as a particular following of Jesus, as a charism within the multiform life of the Church, not limiting my vision to the single dimension of task-oriented ecclesial organization.

The editorial "Mother McCormack's Complaint" [Feb. 1] refers to a decision taken by the Religious of the Sacred Heart in 1970 "to offer five options for apostolic work (the poor, the Third World, community living, internationalism and education)." In context, the original sense of the word "options" in our chapter directives conveys the meaning of mandate and commitment rather than that of alternatives. As stated in these directives, education, in various forms, remains our primary ministry: "At a time when the integral development of man is a task of special urgency, we reaffirm our educational mission as our service in the Church." "Community living" is not a separate option but the sine qua non of evangelical service. We are now in the process of learning how to implement this mandate of the 1970 Chapter: "We therefore commit ourselves to the renewal, at depth, of our life as community, convinced that this is the one condition essential to the future of our religious life and to a genuine response to the summons of the Church and the world."

SISTER LORETTE PIPER

Religious of the Sacred Heart

REPLY: We regret that Ms. Gannon and Mr. Aylward have misread our editorial. It was based on published reports, interviews with lay people, other religious and Miss McCormack herself. We simply described a situation: that critical observers (not necessarily ourselves) have pointed to several reasons why good people leave the religious life, and that there is resentment against religious leaders who transform their institutions and then leave. We do not share that resentment; in fact, as we said in the editorial, we defend these reformers as instruments of God. THE EDITORS

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"AGREED STATEMENT on Ministry and Ordination: Anglican/Roman Catholic Convergence." April 1-3, 1974. GRAYMOOR ECUMENICAL INSTITUTE, Garrison, N.Y. 10524. 914-424-3671.

Dear Occasional Reader:

THIS MARCH 8 ISSUE serves as a fair sample of *Commonweal's* timeliness and topicality in the 50th year of its publication. Peter J. Ognibene tackles the question of Pentagon spying on the White House and tells what really is at issue there. T. Laurence Berry outlines the public career of law-and-order Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia, with a startling reason for his recent irreversible political decline. "News and Views" touches on a further aspect of the debate on Daniel Berrigan's widely controverted comment on the Yom Kippur war.

Elsewhere in these pages our Rome correspondent, Henry ten Kortenaar, shows in what ways the Arab-Israeli wars have affected Vatican objectives on the status of Jerusalem. And Sisypheus, our Washington correspondent, brings late tidings from the nation's capital. This issue also publishes an "Exchange of Views" between Michael True and Gordon Zahn on the future of the Catholic peace movement. And Michael Novak relates to the 700th Aquinas anniversary by writing on what St. Thomas means in our day. Etc., etc.

Informative as this week's sample is, you will only be able to discover the full force and unique flavor of this lay-directed journal of opinion by reading successive issues of *Commonweal* for several months. To make this possible for you at a minimum of inconvenience, we are offering a trial subscription of 17 issues for only \$3—over 400 pages of meaningful political, cultural and religious comment at a saving of 64% of the magazine's single-copy price.

—The Editors



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